

# ARTICLE

FROM THE

New Orleans Bee of August 20,'71,

ON THE

## Political Situation.

BY

R. HUTCHESON, Esq.

*Member of the New Orleans Bar.*

NEW ORLEANS.

PRINTED AT THE PELICAN BOOK AND JOB PRINTING OFFICE,

1871.



“It is a paper of rare ability and force, giving evidence of a clear and vigorous mind.”

*Senator Schurz' speech at Nashville, Sept. 20, 1871.*



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AS ORIGINALLY WRITTEN BY

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# THE POLITICAL SITUATION: DUTY OF THE SOUTH.

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*To the Editor of the New Orleans Bee :*

Our many private discussions of political questions, in which we have widely differed, especially as to the proper policy for the Democratic party to adopt at the present time, will, I trust, authorize me to ask a public hearing of the views which I entertain through the columns of your influential and extensively read journal.

Two facts, it seems to me, are apparent in the present political condition of the country. One is that the Republican party does not seem disposed to deal in the right spirit with the questions particularly affecting the South, and is not taking a course calculated to bring about a speedy reconciliation; nor does it show a disposition to effect those reforms which the people are demanding.

This party seems to rely for success more upon its past record, than because it addresses itself in the right spirit to existing questions. It continues to contrast its popular record of the past with the unpopular record of its opponents, who still foolishly persist in remaining in the field, and it expects to maintain its ascendancy by the usual appeals to the passions which unfortunately have survived the war, and by exciting the fears of the people of reactionary measures by the Democracy in case of their success. Their capital is also largely augmented by the stupid blundering of the Western Democracy upon the financial questions.

The other fact is, that the party in power in many of the States, has been weakened by internal dissensions, by a general failure to meet public expectation, and by the corruption which overtakes all parties, and could be easily overthrown and its rule ended, if all the elements opposed to it could be united and rallied on some feasible plan of opposition in the next Presidential contest.

## The Practical Question of the Day.

The practical question of the day, especially for the South which is the greatest sufferer, therefore, is, how can this be done? And as the main strength of the proposed opposition must be made up of old democrats, this question addresses itself most directly to the Democratic party. The question is not without its difficulties and embarrassments, and I approach its discussion with that delicacy and deference to the judgments of others which its importance demands.

It must be admitted that the prospect for success for some sort of opposition is not only fair, but pretty certain.

The evidence of it may be seen in what has occurred in the State of Missouri under the lead of Carl Schurz and Gratz Brown; in the successful coalition of liberal republicans and democrats in Virginia two years ago; in the late political revolution in New Hampshire; and strikingly in the success of the Citizens' Ticket in the more recent municipal election in Charleston S. C.

While the meaning of all this seems plain, and furnishes irresistible evidence of the existance of abundant material to make up a successful party opposition in the hands of sagacious and practical managers, a sort of political demurrer is put in, and the question is presented, what is success without some principle in view, or what is success at the sacrifice of principles always heretofore maintained by the Democratic party?

So that in the face of an enemy weakened by its dissensions, we find ourselves distracted by the opposing counsels of the men of principle so called, and the men of policy in our own party, and as yet nothing has been proposed which promises successfully to harmonize the party, much less to unite all the elements of opposition.

There are men in the Democratic party, North and South who argue that the war has settled nothing of principle, and who therefore propose to accept no result of a political nature as final, but who believe it to be the duty of the Democratic party to preserve its organization, to continue to contend for the long recognized principles of the party, until the people shall take a second thought



and place that party and its principles again in the ascendant. They say that this is a government of the people who are capable of reasoning, and discriminating in judgment, and who will, when passion and prejudice shall have yielded to calmer counsels, be impressed at last with the truth of democratic principles and come to adopt them.

These men are not at all insignificant in numbers or standing, but embrace some of the best minds, followed by a large body of the Democratic party. Of course they reject the New Departure, so called, and refuse all affiliation with Republicans. They will insist in the coming campaign as in all previous ones upon a repetition of the venerable principles of the party, with candidates of the clearest democratic record, trusting to time and perseverance for ultimate popular sanction.

## WHAT THE WAR HAS SETTLED.

For these doctrinaires of the party, I entertain the highest respect, having always been one of them, and I would defer largely to men with whom I have been in the habit of thinking: but in the present emergency of the country I am fully persuaded in my own mind that their advice ought not to be followed.

It has indeed seemed to me surprising that men of such distinguished ability and learning should have failed to appreciate in its full significance the effect of the late war.

It is a very superficial view of it to say that it was the suppression of a rebellion, and the rebellion having been suppressed, the States remained in their former relations to the Union, as interpreted by States Rights Democrats, with all their former powers unimpaired.

It was not a rebellion or an insurrection, but the withdrawal of Sovereign States from a Union which they had voluntarily entered, acting not as a rebellious or insurrectionary force, but as organized political communities in their sovereign capacity, and claiming the right to withdraw as resulting from the nature of the compact, as freely to be used in secession as in accession.

The country had always been divided into two schools of interpretation: the school of Jefferson, who maintained the theory of Confederation or States Rights, with the remedies of nullification and secession for State wrongs; and the school of Hamilton or Federalism, which insisted upon the opposite theory of the social compact among all the people within the jurisdiction of the United States or a single political community, or body politic, divided into States only as States are divided into counties, constituting a paramount government of the Union in which the majority has the right to rule, and that if the minority complains, it has not the right of nullification or secession by States, but must seek redress in the Courts, or be driven into revolution. In other words, one school held that sovereignty resided in the people of the States separately considered, and the other held that the sovereignty resided in the people of the United States considered as a whole.

The irreconcilable antagonism between these opposing schools of the construction of the Constitution of the United States was really at the bottom of the late conflict. The acts of secession were occasions rather than causes.

The argument had been exhausted, and the followers of these respective schools stood to their arms to determine which should prevail in the last great arbitrament.

The war was therefore primarily to determine what had always been a matter of dispute: Are we a Nation proper, or a Confederation of distinct sovereignties?

After the adoption of the old Federal Constitution, the apprehensions were that the Federal Government would encroach upon the rights of the States and of the people. Hence the Amendments of 1791: The IX that,

"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to disparage or deny others retained by the people."

And the X, that,

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

These amendments were the brief expression of the creed of State Rights, placed textually in the old Constitution.

And alongside the text, cut in the tables of the law, were the celebrated Resolutions of 1798, which constituted the Democratic interpretation of the Constitution from the time of Jefferson, their great author, down to the time of their overthrow by the war.

At the close of the late struggle the design was, among other things, to put to rest this vexed question, and to establish fundamentally in the Constitution the opposite theory of Consolidation. Hence especially the XIV Amendment which should have been the first in order, for the others are only corollaries from it. Admit the full force of the XIV amendment, and all that is embraced in the XV amendment would have been proper subjects of Congressional legislation without the last amendment. This XIV Amendment is a synonym of that political theory which was now regarded as victorious, not peaceably as the other amendments had been adopted in 1791, but by the fortune of arms, and was so placed in the fundamental law of the nation. This amendment accomplishes a complete revolution in the Federal System.

It creates a single body politic of the people of the several States, by making the citizens of the several States citizens of the United States. By the aid of the XV Amendment, it brings them all directly under the paramount authority of the New Nation for all the purposes of government. Nothing now remains in the wide range of legislation, except what is prohibited by the Constitution, which Congress may not appropriate to itself, and deny to the States, if it sees fit; including suffrage, police or Ku Klux laws, election laws, education, corporations, every thing. In a country so large and diverse in interests, habits and customs as ours, Congress will probably not assume the entire province of legislation, but will defer to the States such exercise of powers as they have heretofore possessed, for convenience' sake, so long as they may be considered safe depositories; so that no great change will practically take place in our institutions, but it will not be because anything is left inherent in the States.

Nor is it correct to say that it was a "war for the Union." It is from this paradox that most of the confu-

sion has arisen since the war. It was so called by both Republicans and war Democrats. And both sides suffered themselves to be deceived on this point. After the war was over the Republican party from its original standpoint under the Crittenden Resolutions were at a loss for principles to apply to the novel condition. They soon found that although they had denied the right of secession, and called the southern movement a "rebellion," they had to recognize secession as an accomplished and practical fact, or else lose all the fruits of victory, and find themselves about where they had begun. They found that as a matter of fact, whatever had been their theory, the relation of conquerors and vanquished existed between them and the "States in rebellion" so called. Hence the resort to "reconstruction," and the appointment of military or provisional governors, which was a mere mode of the exercise of the rightful power of the conqueror.

This was the usual and natural solution of such cases, but it has never been placed upon a very intelligent basis except by a few clear headed republicans.

The Democratic leaders so called failing to appreciate the war in its true nature, supposed that when the war ended the Union was restored as it was, and every thing would go along as it had done before. They seemed to be amazed that a great revolution had not been stemmed by the paper resolves of an old Kentucky Senator, and that the Constitution had been lost sight of! And hence the senseless jargon of Democrats, "in the Union for some purposes and out of it for others," and the idle clamor that went through the land for the Constitution to be applied to the States which they also agreed had been in "rebellion." The Constitution had nothing to do with the case. The power to do what was done lies behind all written constitutions, which can neither be the guide nor measure of power in a war which rises to the dignity of a revolution.

It was not a war for the Union, as indeed it could not be. A voluntary Union of sovereign co-equal States can not be preserved by force. A combination of the stronger States may overrun and conquer the weaker, but to say this is preserving a union between them is a contradiction in terms.

The war was what it turned out to be, a war of the stronger against the weaker, a war of conquest and subjugation, and the successful war party has been logically and inevitably driven to regard it as such, whether they designed it or had a very clear conception of it in the beginning or not. And if Democrats now complain of any of the consequences of the war, they should have thought more seriously of them before going into it.

It was a war of opposing systems of construction, and of antagonizing social institutions in which one or the other had to go to the wall. In appearance only was it a struggle to enforce the authority of the Federal Government.

A great social and political revolution has really been accomplished. And like the results of all revolutions, what has been done must be accepted as final, unless it is proposed to reverse them by a forcible counter-revolution. This is not proposed, I believe, by any large number either South or North. But it is said that the acts of reconstruction, and all the amendments based upon them, may be treated as nullities because without warrant in the Constitution; that the Democratic party should disregard them, and insist upon the Constitution and Union as they stood before the war, save perhaps the abolition of slavery, which is even claimed by many to have been illegally abolished. These are all fatal delusions.

Reconstruction is not void because unauthorized by the Constitution. The Constitution had nothing to do with it, because the power to reconstruct was not derived from the Constitution, but from the power of the conqueror. The amendments are not nullities because revolutionary, as absurdly declared at New York, but binding for that very reason! Slavery was not abolished by the exercise of any power existing or claimed to exist in the Constitution, but as a war measure, authorized by the law of nations. The Union is not what it was, nor is the Constitution. The New Nation has superseded the old Federal Union, and the Constitution has become its organic law instead of a compact between Sovereign States, which it was. The means adopted to make the changes were of course revolutionary like the ends proposed, but they have been none the less, but

rather more successful on this account. The Supreme Court will never disturb them, because they are political questions. Three-fourths of all the States will never agree to rescind them, and the idea of counter-revolution by force is both idle and criminal to entertain.

## THE NEW DEPARTURE.

Appreciating this view of the situation, the Democratic party in some of the Northern States are resolving to take a "new departure." Now, the leaders in this new departure movement are either sincere, or they are not. If they are sincere, they accept the cardinal principles of the Republican party as a part of their own faith, and differ only in some questions of administrative policy. A democrat therefore who takes the departure, may as consistently vote for a republican for President in 1872, who agrees with him in questions of public policy, as for one of his own number. If they are not sincere, but have resorted to this as an expedient to obtain power, then the purpose is when power is obtained to proceed to carry out the views of the Democracy, as they have been heretofore held. That is, they will inaugurate such reactionary legislation as will again arouse the suspicions and indignation of the whole North, and bring down upon the South the evils of renewed agitation of all the old questions; invite more remorseless interference in her local affairs, and perhaps lead to the reduction of the reconstructed States to permanent military territories, for these governments are only means to ends, and are still under the authority of Congress. It might indeed precipitate another war, whose consequences would be more disastrous than those of its predecessor.

And why should all this be risked? The Northern leaders might enjoy the spoils of success, but the South would be left to hold the hot end of the poker! For it may be set down as a fixed fact that the North understands and "accepts the situation" as well as the South, and at the first appearance of reaction or counter-revolution, she will spring forth to resist it, and put it down, in whatever shape it comes. But the effect of the new

departure will not be to increase the chances of the Democratic party for power, but rather to reduce them.

It will dishearten and demoralize the old ranks of the Democracy, while the moral effect will be to confirm doubtful republicans and add to their ranks fresh recruits.

## **The old Democratic party has survived its day, and should disband.**

It may readily be deduced from what I have endeavored to show, that the old Democratic party has survived its day, and the sooner it recognizes this fact and acts upon it the better. It should disband at once. It can never again come into power in this country. This is not a random guess, or a sensational prediction, but a conclusion of the mind as certain as any which it is capable of reaching by the process of reasoning upon well known facts.

The Democratic party having been identified with the losing side on all the questions put in issue in the late war, and the great mass of the people acquiescing in the results that have been proclaimed, and desiring to rest in the belief that the settlement has been a final one, will naturally and perhaps correctly suspect the Democracy of reactionary purposes, and will refuse to trust them.

The Democratic party was the pro-slavery party of the country: it was a secession party, or at least held to that construction of the Constitution whose logical result was secession, and these great central facts will remain indelibly fixed in the minds of the American people, both white and black.

Every confederate may not have been a democrat, but every democrat of prominence in the South, as well as the rank and file, were confederates, while the soul of the Northern Democracy was never in the war, but the party there took its stand directly or indirectly in opposition to it. These are facts which have passed into history, and which it is useless to attempt to deny or disguise. And no measures it may now propose, as well calculated as they may be to promote the public good, will ever countervail the popular odium into which the

party has fallen. For it may be said of the old Democratic leaders as THIERS has said of the Orleans Princes; "Providence attaches a mysterious fatality to their persons."

The truth is, that the mission of the old Democratic party ended on that fatal day when the great argument was transferred to the battle field. Since that event it has been a useless actor on the stage. It should have disappeared with the war by which the old issues have been solved. The country has now become republicanized in its essential principles by the war and it will remain so.

Following the course of the other old parties of the country whose principles have been condemned by the people, the Democratic party must pass away.

The old Federal party had to dissolve because of the popular odium which it incurred by the support of certain measures. Its principles and measures attached to it the suspicion of aristocracy and monarchy, and not even the popularity of the great Washington, or the genius of Hamilton who belonged to it could save it from dissolution. Its successor, the Whig party, though successful for a time, met the same fate for pretty much the same reasons. The time has now come for the Democratic party to repeat the process and pass to the tomb of the Capulets!

Opposition to disbanding the Democratic party may be anticipated from various sources. There are the malcontents of the South, who hope for a failure of the new order of things, and who are acting accordingly, who dream the idle dream of a resuscitated old South, and perhaps of ultimate independence. They desire that the old organization may be saved to be used as an instrument. Then there are the late day enthusiastic Democrats of the North who are vexing the public ear with incoherent twaddle about State Rights, without State remedies, and who, after doing all they could to kill off the old democratic principles, now stand around the lifeless corpse of the party uttering lugubrious protestations that the Democratic party shall never die! Like the priests of an Eastern superstition, after much incantation and astrology, they proclaim that none but democrats must be



elected to office, for that they can settle the whole business according to the Constitution!

Last of all come those political nondescripts who left the Republican party after it had done all that they complain about, and joined the Democracy when they had become powerless to afford a remedy; men who favored the war but opposed its consequences; men who joined right lustily in starting the avalanche of revolution, but who now seem to stand appalled at the work of their own hands, and roll up their eyes in hypocritical horror at the sight of the destruction in the valley below.

## **The Principles of Liberty not lost by the change of system.**

State Rights are gone root and branch, but all is not lost. I mean not the "unconquerable will and study of revenge" ascribed by Milton to the fallen Angels, but every thing remains that should excite the highest aspirations of the freeman.

The States as political organizations were a means, not an end. They were supposed necessary to fortify and protect certain rights and institutions of the minority, but they never conferred any rights which is not now enjoyed by every American Citizen. As a means of intervention, the States have been overthrown, but the individual rights of the citizen, and his protection on life, liberty and property, the great ends of all good government, are the same that they ever were. Indeed it may be said that these individual rights are placed on a broader and surer footing than before, because the amendments have not only added to the body politic a vast number who never belonged to it, but they have thrown around all popular rights the sanction and protecting ægis of the superior national government.

Experience, I think, will demonstrate that liberty is not only possible under the change of theoretical system, but will be shared by a larger number. The only danger of such a system is its natural tendency to imperialism and personal government. To resist this tendency, the union of the good and wise of all sections will be required.

And it will be the mission of some new party, if the Republican party makes default, to do this by insisting upon the noninterference of Congress, or of national majorities, with the local concerns of the States, or with the rights of minorities. The times seem to demand a party of this character, and Democrats will naturally take their place in it, because they are jealous of the powers of government, and have always been advocates of strict-construction, local self-government, and the rights of individuals.

And it must not be forgotten, that because a party under a certain organization and name passes out of existence, its principles are not all lost. It simply sloughs off an old existence with its mistakes and errors and takes new form and life. The essential and more approved principles of the old Federal and Whig parties did not perish with those parties, but they now animate the ruling party, and have continued in some form to this day. There are differences in mental organization and habits of thought which will cause men to range themselves into opposing parties in all governments of the popular form, under different names it may be at different times, but always preserving their distinctive characteristics. And parties thus constituted will continue to exist in all the mutations of our institutions.

By a strange anomaly in our history, the position of parties in this country has been exactly reversed. The original Republican party of 1793, and its successor the Democratic party, which had always been in favor of the rights of man and of the largest liberty, became the stand-still, conservative party, while the old elements of Federalism and Whiggery united with the element of the free Democracy, formed the present Republican party, which has carried freedom to four million of slaves!

These positions should be changed again to occupy their natural order. Now, that slavery is destroyed and the special occasion for the present Republican party passed, it will soon begin to show signs of the original elements of which it is composed, and be marked by all the characteristics of the progenitor. It will be the strong government party, with decided centralizing and

monarchical tendencies, and will naturally take sides with the corporations and moneyed powers of the country against the people.

The new party which the country demands, will, after its first successes, settle down into something like the old Republican and Democratic parties, as they were in the days of their triumphs under Jefferson and Jackson, before they assumed the unnatural role of conservatism, and became the defender or apologist of human bondage.

## **The true position of the South and what she should do.**

The war having accomplished a social revolution in the South by which her peculiar institutions have been overthrown and superseded by the opposite system, the case is not one for accepting the situation merely, because there is no choice to reject it, but it is a question rather of adaptation and assimilation. The nation is to be homogenized on the basis of free labor and equal rights. True statesmanship is now to labor for reconciliation, and the speedy adaptation of the southern people to the new order of things. On no other basis can there be any permanent settlement of the question.

Southerners need not to be asked to deny or apologize for the course they saw fit to pursue in 1860-1, for it was the result of their education and of their supposed interest, but as sensible people they must admit that they have been the losing party, and recognize the facts as they find them. It is the fate of the defeated party in all revolutions or civil wars, whether it is a struggle for the succession to a crown, or when conflicting opinions and institutions are left to the arbitrament of the sword. After the long and bloody contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and between the Round-heads and Cavaliers in England the body of the British nation acquiesced in the results, which by common consent became a part of that intangible thing called the British Constitution. The successful war party always dictates the terms of peace, and the South will never find any others than the amendments which have been declared a part of our National Constitution.

It is idle now to speculate upon what might have been done if coercion had not been resorted to, and a convention of the States called to adjust differences. I always believed that in this way war, with its immense sacrifice of life and treasure on both sides, might have been avoided, gradual emancipation provided for, and the Union saved by peaceable means. But the North was phrenzied and the South precipitate and self-confident, and such was the temper of both sections that the conflict was only a question of time. If the sword had not been drawn in the exercise of doubtful coercive powers under the Constitution, it is quite certain that the North never would have consented to permanent separation, and we should have had in the end about what we see now: conquest, emancipation, equal suffrage, reconstruction and all, if the South had persisted in separate independence.

It should go far to reconcile thoughtful men to existing changes when we consider that the men of both sides seemed to have been borne along the current of an irresistible revolution, and became the instruments of an all-wise Providence to effect purposes of His own!

Not sullen submission in defeat, not "masterly inactivity" as badly advised by some of her pretended friends, is the duty and policy of the South, but earnest and hearty effort in the work of assimilation, and for the development of the highest blessings of the new civilization. The situation must not only be accepted, but carried out and enforced. The best and only way to escape Ku Klux laws and bayonet bills is to see that there shall be no necessity or pretext for them by providing through the local governments, and the cultivation of a correct public sentiment, for a vigorous enforcement of the amendments and of the laws passed in pursuance of them. There can be no terrors in the amendments to a people who are disposed to do equal and exact justice to all men.

The mistake of the South at New York, in 1868, was in deciding to take no active part, to urge no policy, nor present any candidate, but leaving all to be determined by the Northern Democracy. She should have taken the lead, but of course in the right direction. She should do so now. She is most vitally interested in

the speedy and permanent settlement of these questions. Considerations of her peace and prosperity forbid that she should longer remain the battle ground of contending factions, or the political shuttle-cock of demagogues.

The intellect, learning and influence of the South should cease to rest in inglorious self-abdication, and assert themselves at once in the affairs of government. In all popular governments these powers are supreme. They may have been powerless in the beginning of reconstruction, but if the South continues to be ruled as she has been, her people will have nobody but themselves to blame. It is ridiculous to suppose that a handful of impecunious adventurers, by manipulating the freedmen, can continue to rule over the intelligence and influence of the South. A few men may be disqualified from going to Congress, but now all Southern citizens are voters, or may be, and are eligible to office in their own states, where most of the evils are to be corrected.

The principal evil of negro suffrage has been that a few unprincipled men, under cover of the quasi-military governments, were enabled to organize and consolidate the ignorant and helpless freedmen against the native population, for political or personal ends; but this unnatural and revolutionary alliance is fast breaking up by the discovery of the freedmen that they have only been used as instruments, and their true interests will hereafter identify them with the Southern people. The delicate and responsible relation of capital and labor, in a new form, now exists between the freedmen and the old master class, and they would naturally come together if undisturbed by mischievous influences from without, and make the best solution of the question possible. There is no natural enmity between the negroes and whites of the South, and the appearance of it is altogether fictitious and abnormal.

The close corporation of political knaves with the freedmen once broken up, the latter would soon be absorbed in the legitimate parties of the country, or perhaps suffrage and office-seeking by the incapable of them fall into non-usage. This, however will regulate itself.

The other evils of conferring suffrage upon a people but imperfectly qualified for it, can be remedied when

deemed necessary by employing the standard of intelligence as in Massachusetts and some of the other states, which may be done consistently with the amendments. But it will be the duty of the South to provide in the amplest manner for the education and elevation of the colored population, for it would be monstrous to deny the means of education, and then cut off suffrage for want of intelligence. All these evils, therefore, can never be corrected by opposing negro suffrage or warring upon the race in any manner, but by accepting and controlling it.

## **No National Democratic Convention**

ought to be called for 1872. It were better for each State to act upon its own local issues upon matters most directly affecting it, and agree by some concerted action upon the candidates for president and vice-president for whom the electoral vote should be cast in opposition to the Republican ticket. Issues that are pertinent to Louisiana and South Carolina, with their various local complications, can have no application to Ohio or New York, and yet each one might vote for the same candidate for president. This would perhaps be too rapid a change from the old system to which parties have been accustomed, and therefore it would be well enough for an Independent Reform Convention of the People to assemble, to make the nominations and declare a few general measures for the reform of abuses.

It would be better for some man who could command the confidence of the country, to announce himself an independent candidate for President, briefly declaring the principles and measures of his Administration, and let him run by common consent.

But best of all would be for the Republican party itself to undergo self-purification, and adopting a more liberal policy towards the South, meet her on the advanced ground above indicated, and labor more earnestly for reconciliation and reform, and let President Grant enter upon his second term through a patriotic alliance of the wise and good of both sections. This party is in

better position than any new party could be to accomplish the work. And all candid men must admit that General Grant's administration has been in the main a decided success, and would in all probability be improved in another four years. The financial branch of it has been marked by signal ability.

The country now presents something of the condition of chaos in the state of parties which was found in another period of our history, when all parties united on JAMES MONROE. Let GRANT be our second MONROE! In the meantime men could take their political bearing, and parties would be organized and take their stand on some natural and philosophical basis.

Should this not be done, some new party must come in to fill the requirements of the times.

To determine who should be the candidate of such a party in 1872 is not so easy as to determine who it shall not be. It should not be Hendricks, nor Hoffman, nor Pendleton, nor any member of the house of Bourbon. With any of them defeat is inevitable.

The candidate should be a Republican in politics, not only in order that no suspicion could attach of a design to reopen settled questions, to inaugurate reactionary legislation, or give countenance to counter-revolutionary measures, but because the cardinal principles of the Republican party would lie at the foundation of the new organization. He should be in favor of civil service reform, retrenchment, and in general come up to the Jeffersonian standard, be honest, faithful and capable. He should be in favor of general amnesty and of remitting to the people of the South the control of their own local governments, and should be opposed to the continuance of armed occupation of the South and to the further rule of the "thieving carpet-baggers."

The material is abundant for choice. There is still Chief-Justice Chase if not too feeble, who should have been nominated in 1868. And there are Gov. Brown of Missouri, Senator Trumbull of Illinois, Ex-Gov. Cox and Mr. Groesbeck of Ohio. The friends of Horace Greeley ought to keep him out of the Republican Convention where he is sure to be slaughtered, and let him run as the Independent People's Candidate. No better

man could be found than Carl Schurz, if he were only eligible.

Of course the old Democratic leaders must drop out of public sight, unhinged from all prominence in public affairs, even as the fossilized remains that have been deposited by the preceding ages are sometimes thrown off and dislodged by the upheaving forces of nature.

“Superfluous—lag the veterans on the Stage.”

## **The South must depend on herself, and work out her own Salvation.**

The South need no longer wait for relief from the old Democratic party, under the delusion that the people may be led to reverse their judgment and decision on any of the old questions, for they never will reverse them! If she continues to rely on this her hands will be pierced. She need not rely on any division between the Northern people on any of the essential grounds of controversy between the two sections, or between the East and West on any question that may divide them, which may enable her to revive her ancient principles, or restore her *ante-bellum* condition. Those divisions will never come! But accepting rather and building upon the results of an accomplished revolution, let her go forward in the new career which has been opened to her to achieve a higher prosperity and glory than any she has ever enjoyed in the past!

AN OLD-LINE DEMOCRAT.





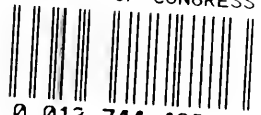








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